252 frequently pouring on water, grinds them to flour (half a basket of ears produces a heaping basketwork plate of flour from which three loaves are made). The flour in a basketwork plate lined with leaves is stirred with water to form a batter; salt, pepper, and frequently [262] also shrimp and dragonfly larvae are added. This batter, as in the case of the women's cassava nkŭ́na mbún, is placed in a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the shape of a stirrup, and it is boiled for an hour in a pot with a little water. The end result is a dish which, while it is rather heavy, tastes quite good. /160/

(d) Maize mush (ngbwét).

Maize mush is made of fresh maize flour which, when boiled, makes a white pulpy soup. Since I have not closely observed its preparation, I am unable to give any details.

The remaining plants, such as taro, macabo, yams, and so forth, are not sufficiently important to be discussed in relation to the various ways of preparing them. The reader will, I think, from the information given so far, derive a clear enough picture of the multiple uses made by the Pangwe of their vegetable foodstuffs.

Meat is boiled in pots by itself -- just like fish, which, as among us, are dressed and scaled -- or it is boiled in a leaf bundle with groundnuts and ngon. As for other ways of preparation, the [267] Pangwe are familiar with roasting, but they use this method only in order to make the food keep and to preserve it.

● 264 Meals are quite irregular and poorly distributed:

[539] "kikitase afŏk anū́, hamoš́ ebań e nkǒ́k,
In the morning a little bit for the mouth, (mid) day a loan for the jaw,

alu bepfúm"
at night, quite full.

In the morning, soon after getting up, they usually eat a small amount of a cold cassava dish or something similar, which the women have cooked the night before since they usually have to go to the plantations early. In the course of the forenoon they content themselves with a little snack of cassava bread, bananas, and the like.

264 Then follows the warm midday meal which takes place between twelve and five o'clock, depending on when the woman returns from the plantation. The main meal, which is fairly substantial, occurs in the evening. This is not just one meal, however; the women have to cook two or three times and, indeed, even in the middle of the night in order to appease the hungry stomachs. They frequently deviate from this "rule," to be sure. If the store of provisions is ample and there is little work to do, they eat the whole day long; on the other hand, if anything comes up, they just as readily omit meals or fast an entire day.

In the main, meals consist of cassava and plantains. In addition to these, any of the other foods mentioned may be eaten, whatever is on hand.

Men and women usually eat separately. The woman takes care of herself as she is cooking and helps herself even to the men's food which is not meant for her, or she eats with her daughters and younger sons after she has sent the midday meal to her husband in the meeting house where the older boys also gather for food. /161/ On the other hand, the husband habitually goes home to take the late evening meal in the family circle, since by then it has become too cold or lonesome in the meeting house.

At all times, the Pangwe man eats quietly and with dignity, not without appreciative smacking of the lips and constant talking, however. Greedy eating (a šy̌ban a dzǐ) seems ridiculous and unbecoming to the Pangwe and is interpreted by him as a sign of bad rearing. Many of the precepts which the father gives his son make this point, and in proverbs and fairy tales (for instance, in the nice fairy tale of Bömme's gluttony, in the story of the greedy pig, and so forth) the same idea recurs.

[517] [867] [338]

264 415 Tableware is very sparse, as one would expect. In the case of liquid dishes, the cooking pot, if it is small, is placed in the midst of the company straight from the fire; if it is large, its contents are poured into a smaller pot. Everyone takes his spoon and eats from the common vessel. In the evening when the man eats at home, he usually has a pot of his own placed before him. Solid foods, for instance, plantains and cassava cutlets, are served on a banana leaf, and everyone takes them by hand. It is considered more refined to

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415 put the leaf on a basketwork plate or to serve the food on such a plate with nothing under it.

The men's spoon is made of wood (tǭk; plural, IV or, irregular, matǭk), Figure 105, and occurs in four different forms, each with two subvarieties. The first form resembles our salad spoons; it has either a circular or broad egg-shaped bowl and a flat handle which begins just below its outer surface (a-c). This first form
177 has come from the north, perhaps from the Jaunde and Bene, among whom it is very widespread and popular, and perhaps from tribes located even farther north; in the south it is to be seen quite frequently among the Bulu, quite a lot among the Ntum, and rather more rarely among the Fang. The spoon may have (d) a pear-shaped bowl and a wider handle which starts farther down (I have seen this only among the Fang).

The second form (e-f) consists of a more or less circular, deep bowl and a broad handle attached to the edge of the bowl and bent in the shape of a gable. The handle usually broadens out at the end and is decorated with carved patterns or covered with stamped brass plate. The latter is to be found only among the Fang and, because of the circular shape of the bowl, is called dū ma-gōdǭvǭ'dō, "nest of the bulbuls (Pycnonotus)."

A form representing a transition between the first and second forms is exemplified by g where the narrow, unadorned handle of the first form is bent in the form of a gable like the second form. This is found only among the Jaunde. /162/

/Fig. 105 appears here in the original text./ The third form (h-k) has a narrow, oval, shallow bowl which more or less gradually extends into the short, usually flat, more rarely round handle; this form is to be found only among the Fang.

A fourth form (l-n) really consists only of a trough-shaped bowl on which the handle is indicated merely by a gradual depression (accordingly, the form is called kiāi-adzăb = leaf of the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.); it is found only among the Fang.

The women's spoons, that is, leaf spoons, calabash spoons, and snail spoons, have been mentioned above. may be added at this point that the man also uses these spoons on occasion, especially when he has no wooden spoon at hand or when he is on a journey.

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Fig. 105. Men's Ladling Spoons.

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415 As a rule, to be sure, every man carries one or two of these useful utensils in his shoulder bag made of pineapple fibers (mfǒk). /163/

Beverages and Indulgents

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484 The usual beverage of the Pangwe is water. He drinks it from little bowls, into which the water is poured from a clay water flask, or from calabashes (ndǒk IV) which, in addition to the clay water flasks, are also used for fetching water. He also drinks water from special drinking calabashes cut in half through the middle (Mwele) or provided with a hole (Jaunde). On a journey, he uses one or

881 304 779 782 do all he can to end this state. As soon as he has killed an enemy, he hurries with the victim's hand to his father. Circumcision then solemnly takes place before all the warriors, and his marriage is celebrated as soon as the wound has healed.

881 304 779 3) Time of the ceremony

The chief first decides upon the date, which is almost invariably in the eight days before a full moon.

As soon as the chief has announced that circumcision will shortly take place, he indicates all the children who are to be included; they, under his direction, go off into the forest not far from the village. After a large space has been cleared, they [342] build open little huts or mere shelters, where they live all together.

Their food is left at the beginning of the path leading to the huts, for no one is supposed to approach; access [523] is above all strictly forbidden to women. The food is plentiful, [264] and nothing must be thrown away or hidden; everything must be eaten, and the chief supervises this rigorously. (1)

1. One of our missionaries observed the same custom among the more advanced populations of the interior. He even mentions this fact: the rule is so strict that one of the candidates was forced three times in succession to swallow the food that his stomach persistently rejected.

4) Preparations

[351] All around the place where the boys are confined, a fence of reeds (1) is erected, which no one dares jump over. This seclusion

1. The place of circumcision shows well enough that the rite is like a consecration, by blood sacrifice, of the sexual life to which the young man is thereafter admitted. Lagrange, op. cit., p. 244.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbòr*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Ebri* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Ebri* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nkw*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *nkon* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *nkung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real* man will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *sepak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralise them. Tea and coffee are known to people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mbon.

Be da mbôn ossi, e vôm a ne mbittil: a kapa bona mîlu mâla, be kôi tân: be mâlî ne ngu: be nân mbâl: be kâzi ngu mbât ati be mon otum: betia tpuk: bingu vul: be kapa mona vul: be kâzi ngu ê mvê: eziabo ji: ve tâli mvê mbon: wona mbon abon.